



Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, AUGUST 25, 1865.

WHOLE NO. 1803.

Selections.

SUFFRAGE IN FREE STATES.

MAINE.

By her Constitution adopted October 29th, 1819,

gives the ballot to every male citizen of the United

States of the age of twenty-one years and upwards,

except paupers, persons under guardianship, and

Indians not taxed, having resided in the State three

months, and persons in the military, naval, or

maritime service, quartered in the State, and students

attending a university, do not acquire a domicile

thereby. (Includes negroes.)

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

By her Constitution, adopted 1792, gives the ballot

to every male inhabitant of twenty-one years,

except paupers and persons excused from paying

taxes at their own request. Freehold property qual-

ifies for the vote. These are abolished. New Hampshire

excluded colored men from voting or holding office.

VERMONT.

Which abolished slavery by her Constitution,

adopted July 4th, 1793, declared in her Bill of

Rights that "all freemen, having sufficient evidence

of common interest with an attachment to the com-

munity, have a right to elect officers and be elected

to office." By article 21, "every male" twenty

years of age, who has resided one year in the

State, who behaves himself quietly and peaceably,

and who will take an oath to vote "as in your

conscience you shall judge most conducive to the

best good of the State, may vote." In Vermont,

therefore, "a white male" is a negro, if he

believes himself as well "not otherwise."

MASSACHUSETTS.

By her original Constitution, adopted in 1780, gave

the ballot to every male person twenty-one years of

age, resident in the Commonwealth, having an an-

nuity income of three pounds from a freehold, or any

estate worth \$500.

The amendment now in force, the ballot be-

longing to every male citizen twenty-one years of age,

except paupers and persons under guardianship,

who shall have paid any tax assessed within two

years, or who shall be exempted from taxation.

By Art. 20 of the Amendments, "No person

shall have the right to vote, or be eligible to office

under the Constitution of this Commonwealth, who

shall not be able to read, write his name in the

English language, and write his name: Provided,

however, that the provisions of this amendment

shall not apply to any person prevented by a

physical disability from complying with its require-

ments, nor to any person who now has the right to

vote, and who is able to read, write his name, and

upwards at the time this amendment shall take

effect." Massachusetts, therefore, never ex-

cluded any man from voting on account of color.

RHODE ISLAND.

By her Constitution of 1842, gives the right of suf-

frage to every male citizen of the United States of

the age of twenty-one years and upwards, except

paupers, persons under guardianship, and Indians

not taxed, having resided in the State three

"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all

the inhabitants thereof."

"Lay this down as the law of nations. I say that mil-

itary authority takes, for the time, the place of all

institutions, and SLAVERY AMONG THE REST; and

that, under that state of things, so far from its being

true that the States where slavery exists have the exclu-

sive management of the subject, not only the PRESIDENT

OF THE UNITED STATES, but the COMMANDER OF THE ARMY,

HAS POWER TO ORDER THE UNIVERSAL EMAN-

CIPATION OF THE SLAVES. . . . From the instant

that the slaveholding States become the theatre of a war,

civil, servile, or foreign, from that instant the law powers

of Congress extend to interference with the institution of

slavery, in EVERY WAY IN WHICH IT CAN BE INTERFERED

WITH, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or de-

stroyed, to the seizure of States, burdened with slavery, to

a foreign power. . . . It is a war power. I say it is a war

power, and when your country is actually in war, whether

in a war of invasion or a war of insurrection, Congress

has power to levy on the war, and MUST EXERCISE IT, ac-

cording to the LAWS OF WAR; and by the laws of war,

an invaded country has all its laws and municipal insti-

tutions swept by the board, and MARTIAL LAW TAKES THE

PLACE OF THEM. When two hostile armies are set in martial

array, the commanders of both armies have power to em-

ancipate all the slaves in the invaded territory."—J. Q. ADAMS.

J. B. YERBINGTON & SON, Printers.

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ON THE POLITICAL

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ney), July 12, 1865,

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given us no trouble. It is not right for a candidate to thus burden his friends; and they cannot help feeling it keenly. He must not complain if it chills their ardor and quenches the enthusiasm with which the election might have been carried in the strong anti-slavery, which are also the strong Union sentiment. Next to the worst thing in politics is the offering of excuses for your candidate; and the prospect of carrying through the campaign, with apologies for him and ourselves, for voting for him, is anything but pleasant to contemplate.

But we have more than this to try our endurance. We—the radical Union men—believe in a suffrage, and are pledged to act for it. But here is our candidate announcing himself in opposition to it, except in a modified form that makes it any thing but free. Our votes for him are therefore liable to be counted against our principles. The authority of our leading candidates—whatever his motives, or fairness, or impartiality may be—will be quoted against free suffrage by all who incline to the pro-slavery side. Already the entire conservative interest has rallied around this new theory of his. At first they were silent, and scarcely dared to oppose free suffrage, leaving the friends of that cause to promote it in their own way. But here is a scheme that serves their purpose; and whether it succeeds or fails, it will stand in the way of a just and faithful discharge of our duty to the unhappy colored race. At best it is only the old system of colonization revived—a system that has long been the way of European nations to get rid of the consequences of all who rather prefer not to do the negro justice, while it will nurture and cherish the fiendish prejudice against the negro, on which slavery builds all its excuses, and is our standing disgrace before God and man. It will stand in the way of the progress to which we are pledged as a nation, preventing, as far as its effects extend, the full work of emancipation.

But to the plan itself: its author betrays his own doubt of its practicability by showing how it might work, in a contingency which he imagines. As to its justice, we trust he will never assert it. As to its quotations from history, and the known antagonism between the negro and his oppressors, and a supposed incompatibility of the races, he attempts to prove a necessity for giving the negro his rights in a modified degree, instead of fully, as they were promised him when we pledged help to us in this war. The tyrant's plea of necessity is the argument upon which this theory rests; and this argument is supported by mis-read history, and the known purpose of every unjust man in the nation to deprive the negro of his rights. Justice demands that the negro should have his rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, where he was born—where God placed him. We promised him that, in the Emancipation Proclamation; he has fought for it, and assisted us in our battles. Shall we, because the wicked and unjust object, and threaten to wrong him, tell him that we will not stand by him all he surrenders his birthright, and agrees to some Utopian experiment of ours, in which he may lose his all?

Then, however speciously Gen. Cox may have gilded his project with the philosophy of history, and dazzled himself with the false light he has elicited, it is only a duty to tell him that the "brightened region" seen by very differently; and while they may give him their votes as the Union nominee, they utterly repudiate his plan of negro colonization, and solemnly protest against their votes for him being counted as evidence of any lack of confidence with them in the doctrine of the consent of the governed gives the government its just power over them; and that the fact that a man has been oppressed, and that others design to oppress him, is only the stronger reason why he should have a voice in saying how he should be governed.

Were Gen. Cox a candidate for Congress in this district, he would have found a call for a new convention starting him in the face before this time; and whatever personal respect the people might yield him, he would not get their votes. The right to his opinion and the free expression thereof is unquestioned, and will always be freely yielded by this people; but as Union men we complain that this issue and the necessity of protesting against a false position have been forced upon us. We must make this protest, or reject the candidate. All things considered, we prefer to do the former.

When our County and District conventions meet, the people, by their delegates, will be apt to express themselves on this subject so as not to be misunderstood, and in a manner that will show Mr. Cox that he could not represent us in the Legislature; while we think it doubtful if he could so represent any County in the Congressional District.

The General tells us that he treats this subject as a non-slavery man. Could he see himself in this new position, we think the vision might not flatter him. Could he see a regiment of Copperheads gloating over his letter with the malignant delight it affords them; every man that "hates a nigger" rising in admiration; every fellow of the best sort, who stands ready to mob the blacks because they are defenceless, hailing it as something just into his hand; while fossilized conservatism exclaims—

"O, wise and learned judge!
How much older art thou than they look!"

and every interest, except the anti-slavery, clustering around his plan—be would surely doubt his anti-slavery sentiment, or fear that it had forsaken him. He should remember that great wrongs are not to be conquered by performing small ones in their stead. The rebellion was not put down by yielding to secession; and the spirit of Slavery is not to be driven from among us by yielding to the prejudice against the blacks, and oppressing them till they take shelter in the surrender of their God-given rights.—*Abolition Sentinel.*

Gen. Jacob D. Cox, Union candidate for Governor of Ohio, was lately asked, by a most respectable committee of citizens of Oberlin, to answer the following questions:

1. "Are you in favor of modifying our Constitution so as to give the Elective Franchise to colored men?"

2. "In the re-organization of the Southern States, should the Elective Franchise be secured to the Colored People?"

To these questions, Gen. Cox returns a decided negative, in a long and not very conciliatory answer. Were this a partisan journal, it would probably follow the course usually prescribed to the class, and keep silence with regard to any utterances of representative men of its party which it cannot approve; but being in nature as well as name *The Liberator*, we deem it incumbent on us to review Gen. Cox's essential positions.

The first of these which demands attention is set forth by him as follows:

"You, judging from this distance, say, 'Deliver the four millions of freed people into the hands of their former oppressors, now embittered by their defeat, and they will make their condition worse than before.' I, starting from the same principles, and after four years of close and thoughtful observation of the races where they are, say I am unwillingly forced to the conviction that the effects of the free will have not been simply to 'embitter' their relations, but to develop a rooted antagonism, which makes their permanent fusion in one political community an absolute impossibility. The sole difference between the races, is in the degree of hostility we find existing between the races, and its probable permanence. You assume that the extension of the Right of Suffrage to the blacks, leaving them intermingled with the whites, will do all the trouble. I believe that it would rather be like the decisions in that outer darkness which Milton speaks, where

"Chaos smiles at it,
And by decision more embroils the fray."

Gen. Cox's assumption of superior facilities for forming a correct judgment is unfounded. The citizens of Oberlin are quite as well acquainted with the negro character as he is. For more than twenty years their village has been a refuge from the slave-hunter, and their honored seamen have proffered all its advantages to seekers of learning and knowledge, regardless of color. Those citizens have, therefore, been constantly familiar with negroes in their lowest and rudest estate—that of "field hands" just escaped from bitter bondage—and with that more fortunate class who have long enough enjoyed the blessings of freedom to have developed an earnest desire to supplement them with those of education. If whites must necessarily evince, in greater or less degree, "hostility" to free blacks, Oberlin must be quite as well aware of that hideous fact as Gen. Cox. If his judgment in the premises is of more worth than hers, it must be by reason of his real wisdom, not of his peculiar experience, nor of his special opportunities.

Gen. Cox gives his idea a fuller expression in the following passage:

"The antagonism of which I have spoken is not entirely one-sided. On the part of the former master, it takes the form of an indomitable pride, which utterly refuses to entertain the idea of political or social equality, mingled with a hatred intensified by the circumstances and results of the war. This feeling is not confined to the slave-owners alone, but the poor whites share it fully, and often show it more passionately."

"On the part of the freedmen, it is manifested in an utter distrust of the dominant race, and an enmity which, although made by circumstances more passive and less openly manifested, is as real and implacable as the other. They have the mutual attractions of race among themselves, and repulsions of the whites as another people, developed in a degree which surprised me. It is not an individuals of a nation common to all that they speak of themselves, but to use the language of one of them, speaking to myself, they feel that they 'have long been an oppressed and down-trodden people.'"

Is this fair? Is it true? Did Gen. Cox, while traversing the South in Sherman's grand march, find the blacks always or usually evincing "distrust of the dominant race"? Of the dominant caste, doubtless, he did—and for the same reason that the Israelites, led through the Red Sea by Moses, naturally evinced a distrust of the Egyptian ruler. Gen. Cox and his fellow-advocates were of the "dominant race"—did the negroes of the South generally evince "distrust" and "enmity" toward them? He knows right well that they did not. Then why his juggling confusion of the very natural distrust of their enslavers, felt by persons just released from life-long, bitter bondage, with distrust of, and enmity for, the "race" to which they belonged—of their liberators as well as their taskmasters?

Then consider his abuse of the fact that the ex-slaves spoke of themselves as a distinct "people." When and where have these victims been allowed to regard or speak of themselves as a portion of our people? Give them half a chance to consider themselves Americans before you use to their disadvantage the fact so dexterously manipulated by Gen. Cox.

And here let us pause to protest against the undisguised leathenship of Gen. Cox's talk of race "hatred" and "repulsion," which he so carefully pronounces "implacable." Who feels this hatred? Does Gen. Cox? We do not, and never did. Why should we? "Have we not all one Father? Has not the same God created us all? Has he not taught that God has made us of one blood? That we are redeemed by a common Savior? And destined, if saved at all, to spend an eternity in one common heaven? Has Gen. Cox ever pondered that awful, searching question—'If a man love his brother, whom he has seen, how can he love God, whom he has not seen?' In behalf of our faith and our humanity, we protest against his harsh, pagan, stony-hearted philosophy. It is a shame to Christian that its author should call himself a Christian.

Gen. Cox proposes a "peaceable separation of the races." In what sense does this differ from the "peaceable secession" inaugurated by Ruffin and Jeff. Davis? That was entirely "peaceable," so long as no one saw fit to resist it; it will be so. But how are you to make room within our country for four millions of blacks, supposing them ready to "peaceably" colonize? And if you will not, you know that they will never be "peaceably" expelled from the land fertilized by their sweat, their tears, their blood. The Moors of Spain were not half so many, not diffused over a title of the territory; the exiled Huguenots of France were but a handful in comparison; what did the expulsion of these cost? How did it affect the French Republic? Left? And what does history say of those who expelled them? Has Gen. Cox thought of these things?

Is a sufficient objection to any project that its realization is utterly impracticable. The whites, even of Florida, could not be expelled at all; and enormous cost; and that State could not readily shelter and sustain half our blacks. And how can this already heavily taxed country be induced to tax herself doubly to defray the cost of this stupendous transplantation of four millions of people from places where they are useful and useful to us, and distant homes, adapted not to their needs or wishes, but to a supposed exigency of Gen. Cox? The scheme is a sheer, transparent delusion.

We close with a word of warning for all those who are contriving new fetters and new brands for the negro, without consulting the negro himself, or deeming his consent of any moment, which we extract from the philosophic speculations of the calm and sagacious De Tocqueville:

"So long as the negro remains a slave, he may be kept in a condition not far removed from that of a brute; but, with his liberty, he cannot but acquire a degree of instruction which will enable him to appreciate his misfortune, and to discern a remedy for them. Moreover, there exists a singular principle of relative justice, which is firmly implanted in the human heart. Men are much more forcibly struck by those inequalities which have not been created by the hand of man, than by those which have been created by the hand of man. One can understand Slavery; but how allow several millions of citizens to exist under a load of cruel and hereditary wretchedness?"

Will not the thoughtful consider?—*New York Independent.*

GENERAL COX'S LETTER. We have read the letter from General Cox with profound regret. It is a mistake in principle and in policy. This we are persuaded the General will not dispute. The idea of colonizing our people, whether in another land or in this land, is we would have the General understand, a product of slavery. Nobody proposes to colonize any other class. It is because we have been enslaved; it is because we have been a subject class; it is because the dominant race have for ages been unjustly disposing of our destinies, that such a thing is talked of. Who proposes to send the Germans, or the Irish, or the Swedes to some foreign land, or to set off several States for them in this country? Nobody; and why? Simply because they have not been enslaved, have not for centuries been subject to masters. They have been in the habit of disposing of their own destiny; of deciding for themselves where they would live, and pursue their own happiness. This is the reason. They have had no masters to decide this for them. And now as we have in this country a single class, and by the proclamations of the martyred President, ceased to be a subject class; as we henceforth have no masters; as, from necessity, we fall into the relations of other races and other citizens, we expect to be left with others, and like others, to decide where we will cast our lot, and prosecute our enjoyment. This we maintain is our purchased right; for each of our blood we have bought it. And a concession of this two-fold right makes every thing easy. The whole difficulty, as we conceive, of re-construction springs from an unwillingness to carry out emancipatory principles. This causes the tug of war. Be simply democratic, gentlemen, and all is easy.

On our next, we will show that the General's plan drives him on to the very rock he seeks to escape.—*Cincinnati Colored Citizen.*

DIRECT FROM NORTH CAROLINA. We have before us a private letter from an original and constant Unionist of this State, which gives a most discouraging view. The writer proceeds to say that in the approaching convention "the rebels will have the majority; that they have got the control of the State." "The North Carolina Standard," Gov. Holden's organ, calls upon the Union men to stand firm in opposition to what is called negro suffrage. He then adds as follows:

"If suffrage is the only thing that will give the Union men the control. Leave the matter as it is, and the secessionists will just as soon as ever as though the South had gained her independence. I am a candidate for the convention, and if elected I intend to introduce negro suffrage if it costs me my life. From the prospect, there is no chance for any but a secessionist; and I would rather go through with four years more of war than submit to their rule. Three-fourths of the civil appointments made are of the secession class. The police appointed are two-thirds disloyal; and many of the magistrates are of the same class."

The appointment of W. W. Holden as Provisional Governor was very objectionable, because he had done more for the disunion party than any other man in the State.

A man who went in the United States army from North Carolina is looked upon as being unworthy any office from the fact that he was a "Buffalo," as they term it. The officers of these police use this argument.

"This is a kind of loyalty I cannot understand. I don't know what to make out of such management as we have here in North Carolina by the civil authorities."—*Boston Transcript.*

The Liberator.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, AUGUST 25, 1865.

THE SPIRIT OF THE SOUTH.

The intelligence from every part of the conquered though still rebelliously disposed South is daily of a most harrowing nature, in relation to the murderous atrocities perpetrated upon the defenceless and unforgiving freedmen by those who formerly held absolute dominion over them, or by the degraded and brutal "poor whites," who are themselves the victims of that hellish slave system which, though happily no longer in legal operation, still curses that section of the country with its merciless spirit. These atrocities excite in us no surprise; they only confirm what we have a thousand times asserted as to the barbarous condition of the South, and her international state of mind towards the negro race. We look for their repetition on a still more extended scale for some time to come, in spite of the best efforts of the Government to prevent their recurrence. But, while we shudder to contemplate them, and most deeply sympathize with the poor sufferers, we are comforted in the assurance that such revelations of barbarity and insubordination will help to consolidate the loyal sentiment of the country in opposition to any relaxation of the strong arm of the General Government in that section; and also to the admission of any one of the revolted States into the Union for an indefinite period.

"Forewarned, forearmed." In the nature of things, it is morally impossible for the people of the South to be just, humane or decent toward their colored population. The present generation must pass off the stage before the latter can hope for anything like fair dealing or kind treatment. There is no self-recovery in such a case. The brain is too much diseased, the blood too much poisoned, to admit of a cure. Every effort must be made, and on the broadest scale of liberality, on the part of the North, to bring under educational training the rising generation of the South, without regard to complexional distinctions. Of course, this will be madly, and in many instances feebly opposed by all that is left of the old slave oligarchy; but the safety and repose of the nation cannot be found in any other direction, and it must be persisted in, at all hazards, under the strong arm of the national government, until the system of free schools is recognized and approved in every Southern State. No worse treatment, no other retaliation is needed in the settlement of this question. It is the sublime mission of the people of the North to return good for evil, and blessing for cursing; and this, we are sure, they are universally disposed to do. At no time in our national history have they been inimical to the rights and interests of the people of the South, though always insulted, betrayed, and treated most contemptuously in return. What they desire is the general welfare, irrespective of geographical boundaries; but that can be secured only by making the institutions of both North and South homogeneous, on the basis of impartial justice.

"An Old Georgian" writes a letter from Savannah to the *New York Commercial Advertiser*, in which he declares that, as soon as the soldiers are withdrawn from that region, all Union white men will have to leave, or be subjected to the cruel control of the worst of rebels. His opinion is that three-fourths of the people there are honestly desirous of accepting quietly the changed state of affairs, and abiding faithfully by it. The other fourth part, made up of men who inaugurated the rebellion, are sullen and dissatisfied, and only wait for a good opportunity to try their hands at new rebellion.

"Could you only sit with me one hour under the oaks in front of the Palms House," says the writer, "you would not deem this opinion harsh. You would hear the chirping of the South reeling in curses and abuse of everything and everybody, whining because, in losing the negro, they think they have lost their all. They sit here, these gallant sons of chivalry, neither doing nor trying to do anything, cursing the Government, because it permits the negro to work for himself instead of working to support the miserable and worthless fellows that they are." "Were they not held in check by the military power," concludes the correspondent, "a hundred men of the above named class would ride rough shod over the citizens of Savannah."

RECONSTRUCTION. The cogent and elaborate Letter to the President of the United States on the question of Reconstruction, which occupies a considerable portion of this page, was prepared by a Committee appointed at a large meeting of merchants and others, held at the rooms of the Board of Trade in Boston.

Its main purpose is to request a sufficient delay in a final settlement of the mode of Reconstruction, until the country, North and South, is better prepared for it. It now can be determined, wisely and safely, the various questions presented, especially in the matter of suffrage. We have faith to believe that wise suggestions and patriotic appeals; but, wherein he may be found wanting, we shall confidently look to the next Congress to be impregnable as Gibraltar against making any concessions, on the application of any late rebel State for admission into the Union, which shall leave the loyal black population helplessly deprived of the elective franchise.

HARPER'S MAGAZINE, for September, is full of interesting reading, and, as usual, graphic illustrations. The following is the table of contents:—1. September. 2. A Trip to Bodie Bluff and the Dead Sea of the West. 3. Love in a Hospital. 4. Miss Pink's First Season. 5. Niagara in Spring. 6. Sketches of Social Life in China. 7. Tom Mallory's Revenge. 8. Amethyst. 9. The Pond House. 10. Milford. 11. Armadale. by Wilkie Collins. 12. The Helmsman. 13. Street Education. 14. Margaret Bronson. 15. Hannah Fanthorn's Sweet-Heart. 16. Our Mutual Friend, by Charles Dickens. 17. Recollections of an Old Fogey. 18. Monthly Record of Events. 19. Editor's Easy Chair and Drawer.

This Monthly is edited with remarkable tact and ability, always furnishing a large amount of instructive and entertaining reading at a very cheap rate.

For sale by A. Williams & Co., 100 Washington Street, Boston.

CHILDREN'S PROGRESSIVE LYCEUM. Bela Marsh, 14 Bromfield street, has just published in a neat little volume, "The Children's Progressive Lyceum—a Manual, with directions for the organization and management of Sunday Schools, adapted to the bodies and minds of the young; and containing rules, methods, exercises, marches, lessons, questions and answers, imitations, silver-chain recitations, hymns and songs, original and selected. By Andrew Jackson Davis."

FINE PICTURE. Childs & Jenks have appointed the agents in this city of Powell & Co.'s photograph of President Lincoln, Vice-President Hamlin and the Senators and Representatives who voted "Aye" on the Constitutional Amendment prohibiting slavery. The features are given with most remarkable accuracy and truthfulness, and are easily recognized. It is a splendid specimen of photography, and has a historic significance which makes it a very valuable picture.

OFFICERS OF COLORED REGIMENTS. Under date of Aug. 10, Major General Gillmore, commanding the Department of South Carolina, issues an order requiring the commanding officers of the 68th and 69th Massachusetts, and 25th, 32d and 102d United States Colored Troops, about to be mustered out, to nominate to his headquarters such officers of their commands as are in their opinions deserving appointments in other colored regiments. No assurance can be given in regard to the appointment of those recommended to a higher grade than that of Second Lieutenant, but recommendations for all meritorious officers are requested.

RECONSTRUCTION.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES:

SIR—The Rebellion forced upon the loyal States a long war, costly in blood and treasure. The military conflict has ended, and we all rejoice at its termination. Most of the States which were rebels are held in military possession. We shall rejoice when this also terminates. You have repeatedly expressed and distinctly indicated a strong desire to relax and remove your military grasp of those States. With this desire we have the fullest sympathy. The sooner peace, with all its relations and with all its blessings, can be established, the sooner will every part of this great country be active in promoting its own prosperity, and the prosperity of every other part of the whole.

We believe, however, that no one knows better than you do, that peace itself will be only an illusion and a mischief, and not that peace over which we may all rejoice, if it be precipitated to the neglect of those terms and conditions which the safety and security of the whole country demand, and which is therefore equally the right and the duty of the whole country to insist upon.

The questions presented by the present attitude of the States which rebelled against the nation are numerous, and have many aspects. We have no doubt that they, and whatever may be suggested to you in relation to them, will receive from you due consideration. We ask now to offer to you some views upon the safety, the prosperity and the good faith of the whole country.

The National Constitution gave to the white men of those States votes for three-fifths of the slaves. It was there, a compact: the free States admitted its binding force, and would never have interfered with the exercise of this right in those States had they not voluntarily renounced by rebellion this and all their constitutional rights. But we cannot think it would be either just or prudent to restore to them now those three-fifths, and at the same time make them a present of the other two-fifths. All reasons founded upon the principles of free and equal republican institutions are against this; and, instead of a necessity for doing it, the whole country appears to us to be under that necessity which a due regard to our safety and security creates, not to do it.

We have made the slaves free, free citizens of the United States. They must therefore all, at the next and subsequent apportionments of representatives, be counted among those whose number measures the right of national representation. It might be asked, Would it be right—would we ask now only would it be safe, to permit all the votes of these colored men to be cast, but to require that all their votes should be cast for them by the white men living by their side? There would be injustice, and we think there would be insecurity, in saying to one hundred men of any of the loyal States, You shall cast one hundred votes; but a hundred men in one of the disloyal States shall cast two hundred votes, because there live among them a hundred men of a different color. The hundred men in that State will cast it, true, but one hundred votes; but it is equally true that they will be two hundred votes in their influence and power, or that those hundred voters will, through their representation in Congress, exert the same influence over the national legislation or the national policy as the two hundred voters who reside in the other States.

For example, let us compare some of the Southern States which come somewhat near them in population on the basis of the last census. If we take the whole population of each State as the number which measures the right of representation, and suppose that the white men alone of the Southern States cast the votes of the States, a brief calculation will show that every hundred of the white inhabitants of South Carolina will have as much power through their representatives as two hundred and forty of the people of Iowa; one hundred white men in Mississippi will equal two hundred and twenty-three men in Wisconsin; one hundred white men in Louisiana will equal one hundred and ninety-eight men in Maine; one hundred white men in Alabama will equal one hundred and eighty-three men in Connecticut; and one hundred white men in Alabama and Louisiana together will equal one hundred and eighty-nine men in Indiana. It is therefore apparent that if so the Constitution requires, the colored men of the South are all counted in to measure the right of representation, and are then all disfranchised, this must operate a proportional disfranchisement of the people of the North and West. How long can it be believed that this inequality will be endured? On what right or reason does it rest? It is that the colored race of the South are all wholly disfranchised because wholly unfit for the right of suffrage, it is also true that the white voters of South Carolina are about two and a half times better fitted to exercise this right wisely and patriotically than the people of Iowa?

In the above estimate, it has been assumed that the number of white voters bears about the same proportion to the whole number of the white population in all the States. The results above stated would be somewhat affected in some of the Free States by the fact that in them colored persons who do not vote are enumerated to determine the number of representatives; but in none of them is their number sufficient to make a material difference—probably not enough to offset the larger proportionate loss of the white men of the South than of the colored men in the war.

The class from whom we should withhold the right to cast their votes are enthusiastically loyal; and the class whom alone we should permit to vote, and to whom we also give the votes of the other class, have maintained with marvelous unanimity, and with remorseless determination, broken only by utter defeat, a war which had for its single object escape from that Union which they hated. And we are now asked by this last class to withhold all political right and power from that class whose loyalty is certain, who will vote by its inspiration on the great national questions offered to them, and especially as to the great burden of our debt, which they can never forget was the price of their freedom. And we are asked not merely to confine the privilege of voting to the disloyal class, but to invest them with the votes of the disfranchised; and thus to double the political strength of that class so lately in fierce rebellion, which cannot be expected, if human nature is with them what it is every where, to be now, or very soon, animated by a love of our common country; and especially in regard to our great debt, must be expected to feel it, not as a burden only, but a burden a thousand-fold heavier because it was incurred for their defeat; and therefore, it must be feared, will be disposed to assail it through all the years that it may rest upon us; to assail the debt, the taxation necessary to sustain it, and so the credit, and good faith, and prosperity of the country.

It would be a strange thing if we had not the right to be more just than to do so great a wrong, and more wise than to expose the country to such dangers. Was it wrong in the Government to abolish slavery? It is wrong now in you to insist upon its abolition? Certainly, unless we had and have a right to do so. But what right can any one imagine, excepting that which arose from our military power, coupled with our necessity, or a due regard to our security? The right thus founded was and is a perfect right. And the Government has, and you, as its military and executive head, have an equally perfect right, resting on precisely the same foundations, and of precisely the same extent, to require and to insist that political rights in those States shall not be determined by race or color, if the safety and security of the country require such a provision.

Justice is always the most expedient thing we can do, although it may not always be possible to see how it is expedient. In the present case we can. We have passed through a war marked by the most deadly conflicts of history. We needed absolutely, and we at last yielded to the necessity of asking, military aid from the colored race; and when we asked it, gladly did they hear and answer. No man doubts that the army of colored men was useful to us; although we may not say as the defeated rebels say—it was that which turned the scale, and made their defeat inevitable. If we ask what does justice now demand for the race which rendered us this valuable assistance, the answer certainly would not be, that we should use the victory which they helped us to win to cast them helplessly and powerless by disfranchisement into the hands of those who were the enemies of the Union, and whom the assistance they have rendered to us has made their enemies.

But if this be the answer of justice, that of expediency is quite as certain. There are conflicts of peace as well as conflicts of war. In the conflicts which threaten us, we shall need their ballots quite as much as we needed their bullets in the conflicts of war. The questions are curiously similar. We felt that we needed—we waited until we were compelled to feel that we needed—their assistance in the war, before we accepted it; but when we accepted it, victory came with it; certainly with it, whether because of it or not. Again we need their aid. If we permit, in the conflicts that await us, the assistance they will gladly give us, it will certainly add greatly to the safety and the strength of our country. If we reject it, we can do so only by a wrong, of which the retribution must be to lessen our strength and increase our danger, and, may be, to defeat and destroy those interests upon which the prosperity and the good faith of the country are founded; to defeat and destroy those interests, because we see fit to take from the loyal the force which of right belongs to them, and give it all to the disloyal, to increase their strength.

Nor let it be said that we cannot be sure that the colored voters will not be led in the exercise of their rights by the whites. For, in the first place, it is certain that they will not all be so led. Men, whether from ambition or patriotism, will be candidates on the side of the national honor and the national interests, and will seek the votes of colored men; and Slavery is not there to prevent the use of sufficient means for acquiring the voters with the true nature of the questions before them. If white men control the votes of colored men, then, if the whites are divided, the colored men will be divided; and, if the whites vote all together, they will be no stronger if all the colored men vote with them. On large plantations the relations of employer and employed may operate, to some extent, to give to the owner some undue control of the laborers. So it has been said that our large mill-owners, and others employing many workmen, hold them in political bondage. If this mischief existed in any places, or to any extent, it has certainly been greatly exaggerated in some minds, but he who thought the worst of it never imagined that he found in it a reason for disfranchising any class of our laboring men. The white men of the South know better than we can, whether, if the colored men vote, white men can control their votes; and if they really believe that they shall effectually control them, their determined opposition to freedmen suffrage indicates an indifference to their own power, and a willingness to lose what would be an instrument in their hands, which is, to say the least, very remarkable.

We have had and exercised a perfect right to emancipate the slaves, growing out of our necessity; but this gave us no right whatever to emancipate them for our own security and to their danger, for our own benefit and perhaps to their destruction. And who can deny that a new danger, and an appalling one, hangs over that race, if, on the one hand, we take from them all the protection and defense they found in Slavery, while it made it the interest of their owners to take care of them, and on the other take from them by disfranchisement all power of self-protection and self-defense? Already we see, and by no means dimly, in the measures adopted or proposed in some of those States, while still held in strict military possession, what kind of legislation over and against the colored race must be expected when the nation has abandoned all power to arrest or check it, and has given no power to that race to resist it. Can this be honest, or prudent, or safe? Can we endure the disgrace of calling on that race to go with our own loyal soldiers to peril and to death, and after they have fought our battles, leave them utterly disfranchised?

It is to be hoped that commercial relations and commercial intercourse may be fully established between the South and the North, and, as connected with this, necessary to it, free and kindly social and personal intercourse. All must remember how these things have stood for many years. Liberty of speech was wholly lost. Whoever went from a free State to a slave State, went in peril of his life; a peril, it is true, to be easily guarded against by one to whom it was easy to conceal his thoughts or falsify them; or by one whose opinions and feelings could be molded by his interests, and who, coming from a home of freedom, could act and speak as a lover of Slavery, and so purchase his safety, and with it the contempt of the better class among them who tolerated him. Instances which cannot be forgotten prove that, for the Northern man, there was no freedom of speech, or of the press, or of the courts. All this, it may be said, was caused by Slavery, and Slavery is gone. But if Slavery has left behind it vast class-distinctions; if to the master-class is left the whole power of legislation to preserve and deepen these distinctions; to the same class which will possess the power of molding society and all its feelings and usages into that form which shall give the utmost possible force and permanence to these distinctions; and the political supremacy they confer—is it not certain that what has been lost will return again? That the abyss between the thought and feeling of the Free States and of the Slave States, which no man could pass over, will still be open and kept open? Is it not certain that both social and commercial intercourse will be hampered and obstructed? Is it not said, that when enough of treasure and of blood have been cast into this abyss to close it, and this country has been to say this day, let it be closed, and it will be closed, there can be danger that we may say, No, let it be open, still be the barrier that it has been?

We suppose there are in the Free States few who think, and very few who would say, the colored race are such by nature that they should be permanently disfranchised. We hear and read only that they are now wholly unfit for the right to suffrage; and we must wait until they are better prepared, and then receive it. But we would ask them what preparation, what improvement can be hoped for, when the whole power of legislation, and the whole power of determining the relations between these classes, is given to the master-class, and is given to them on the condition that they retain this supremacy only so long as they can prevent all preparation and all improvement? Distant, very distant will that generation be which sees the race enfranchised, if we leave them disfranchised?

And, viewing the question in its most general form, is it not plain that the nation cannot do so great a wrong without exposing itself to an equal penalty? Slavery was protected by the Constitution: we endured it, and we had much excuse for enduring it; we could reach it only by breaking down the law; and the reverence for law in our country is as just and salutary as it is powerful; and in this instance it was, or was thought to be, fortified by religion. Now all this barrier has gone. The right, the justice, the expediency, are all united. The right, the justice, the expediency, all say, Slavery shall be no more, and it is no more. We have but to say in the same right, Slavery shall not leave behind it disfranchisement; and it will not. How can we say instead, Slavery shall not die, but shall only change its skin, and live on with all its venom? How can we say, Slavery will not live, but we will accept disfranchisement, and permit it to do the work of slavery? How can we say this and do this in utter antagonism to every principle of our American institutions, and to that settled opinion and feeling which has been gradually growing for generations in the free States, until it drove Slavery into Rebellion? How can we say this and do this, and not

be sure that we leave to our children abiding and disastrous conflicts and probable confusion? But, while we think that the importance of the question is inexpressible, we admit that it is difficult to decide at once, and finally, this great question which has sprung upon us by the sudden collapse of the Rebellion. Public opinion is rapidly changing. It is beginning to see that the true question is, not, in such a country as this, political rights shall be dependent on race or color. Men are beginning to feel, however, that the people cannot now be merely to decide this question, but to determine it, and the consequences which belong to the certain and absolute necessity of day, of peace, to such practical conclusions as will take from the whole country all power to remove its steps or errors; for when those States are re-established in all their constitutional rights, they can be the interference with their internal affairs, and their rights remain unimpaired, just what they were, in fact, although not what some thought they were, before the Rebellion.

Those States do not now possess and exercise those rights. You have, most important in the judgment of all men, appointed Provisional Governors to elect their own Governors. If a State has any right at all, it shall vote at the election of a Governor, and have interfered in important particulars with the right of suffrage. You did all this because you had the power to do it, and because the safety and security of the country required you to do it, and gave you a perfect right to do it. We do not see how it can be doubted that you have both the power and the right to interfere further, and on the same grounds, with the same right of suffrage, either by restriction or by enlargement.

Let us compare the possible harm with the probable good of delay, and even, should it be necessary, some what protracted delay. The authorities you have provided, and who will act under your constant oversight, will do nothing to obstruct or retard the progress of those States. All their political and municipal institutions may be reorganized and made operative. Let time do its best, and your power be exerted, if need be, to prevent violations or practices certainly wrongful, and the channels of trade will be opened and filled, and the relations between the inhabitants of these States, with the new rights they give and the new duties they impose, will be understood and acknowledged. Labor will be encouraged, compensated and made productive of—and will be seen to be productive of—wealth to employer and employed. Where war has passed along, leaving behind it destruction, the restoring power of peace will drive the traces of destruction, and the wounds of war, if they do not wholly heal, will at least ease. If you now permit those States to resume the full exercise of all their former rights, and give up those rights to white men, you give them men accustomed not to labor, but to despise labor, to men whose contempt and dislike of that part of the country which had not their peculiar institutions had been exasperated to intensity by a fierce and destructive war, ending with total defeat. Let time be given them to become less passionate in their aversion to begin, at least, to forget an irreconcilable past, to be reconciled to the inevitable; to acknowledge and understand, and make the best use of circumstances which cannot be changed. And the colored man, in the mean time, have learned precisely nothing of freedom given them is the freedom of voluntary self-support. Education, which many of them are not yet

THE CHAIN OF THE BONDMAN.

Ames! Allotment! The conflict is o'er!
The chain of the bondman, all reeking with gore,
Is finally broken! our country is free!
No longer the black man, with suppliant knee,
Shall crouch at the feet of his tyrannous lord,
Nor trembling start at the sound of his word.

The black sin of servitude, our nation's high crime,
Which widened, and deepened, and darkened with time,
No more, like a poisonous mist from the sea,
Shall blight the fair fruit of our Liberty Tree.

That link is erased from our nation's fair scroll,
That crime washed away from her penitent soul,
By the great crimson pool on the battle's dread plain,
And tears that were shed o'er the innocent slain.

That cursed word SLAVERY, which boldly has stood
On our national emblem, deep written in blood,
With a pen manufactured at Slavery's forge,
And ink from the veins of the slave's death agony,
No longer its place on our flag shall maintain,
Nor a star in that flag shall it darken again.

The chain of the bondman!—Ah, who can disclose
The anguish of the soul, the life-blinding woe,
And the blood and the tears that distilled on the turf,
While it shackled the body and soul of the serf?

In mid-skinned victim it chained to the sod,
Forbidden his soul to commune with his God;
And true to its work as the steel to the pole,
It riveted him to the slave-driver's soul.

But Slavery, foul Slavery, was destined to fall;
We saw "the hand-writing" its doom on the wall;
And welcomed, yet dreaded, the Red Sea of woe,
Neath the billows of wrath, for a time, we must go.

But the Angel of Liberty lifted his wand,
And back rolled the deluge of woe from our land;
Our nation, baptized in the blood of the slain,
Came forth from its perils, washed free from its stain.

Then hall to the era that dawned o'er the world!
All hail to our banner of freedom unfurled!
All hail to the advent of justice and light!
All hail to the exit of bondage and night!

Ames! Allotment! The conflict is o'er!
The slave-chain is broken, to be welded no more;
The block and the hammer, the whip and the post,
In the grave of Secession are buried at last.

Now, high in the journals of heaven above,
May the hand of Jehovah, in infinite love,
Erase those dark records of bondage and crime,
And grant us salvation from sin throughout time.

—Dover Morning Star.

PEACE.

BY CALER DUNN.

The cloud that dimmed the Southern sky
Flashed, shattered, o'er the nation's head;
Its river mist, dissolving, fled,
For Peace is born, and War is dead.

See yonder where the cross of blood
Lies, frowning, o'er the gloomy skies,
The old flag, with new life infused,
From Sumter's battered walls arise!

No more the cannon's angry speech
Is heard to cheer the fierce debate;
No more the battle's deadly breath
Lies yawning by the road of fate.

Through every vale the burden sweeps
Of combat ended, peace begun,
And up and down our country's steep
The blessed, welcome tidings run.

Bright as a star the peaceful dawn
Wings her free flight above the scene,
And hails the full, new birth of love
In hearts where hate too long has been.

Give thanks to Him, O land and sea!
Breathe ye, O plumes! your psalm of praise;
Chant ye, O waves! triumphantly,
Your grandest anthem chorus raise!

Strike from the country's heart the notes
Of jubilee, O rivers wide!
And from your gleaming, silvery throats,
O streamlets! pour your songful tide.

O sweetest wind! the tidings bear
To fields of carnage, fields of blood;
And on the soft and vibrant air
Thro' you, O bells! your wildest flood.

O ransomed people! sing the praise
Of Him, and bless His hallowed name,
And from your hearts' rejoicing raise
The thankful nation's loud acclaim;

For ever Sumter's rents and scars
The symbol shine that war shall cease,
And mid our country's bannered stars
Appears the blessed star of Peace.

—Gazette's Pacific Monthly.

LINES.

Written on the occasion of the funeral of the late Mrs. Seward, of Auburn, N. Y.

Only a few grief-laden words have passed
Since through the world that requiem was rung,
At which remotest nations stood aghast,
For which our own with sable clouds was hung.

The echo of that dirge comes back to-day,
And peals around thy tomb, oh loving wife!
While we commit unto thy kindred clay
This second victim of the assassin's knife.

We little thought that heart that blow would reach,
Which Heaven ordained its loftier mark should miss;
Yet there were some who whispered, each to each,
With pallid lips, of such a grief as this.

Who knew thee best, knew how thy heart was long
Waiting the dawn, thy heart's vigils kept,
And how, with love intense and tripartite,
For country, husband, sons, thou watched and wept.

I see "sweet Auburn" hushed and dark to-day,
(From far, with vision purified and true,
Dark with the epe-cloids that o'erhang the way
Where that sad patient slowly winds along.

I see St. Peter's walls and turret brown;
I hear the solemn music of her choir;
Her funeral bell, that vibrates through the town,
And wakes a sad response from sister spires.

I see, Fort Hill's gates portals open wide,
Those gates where mourners bid farewell to bliss;
And pouring through, a long and living tide
Rolls onward to thy high Necropolis.

Room for a sister, here! Make room
For virtue, goodness, unrepenting woe—
For ye can spare amidst these aisles of gloom—
"Tis all the same—a little spot of earth.

A little spot, beneath these heavens clear,
These ancient trees, with overshadowing bough,
Where song-birds come, such as she asked to hear
When the death-damps were gathering on her brow.

Oh God! We bless Thee, even while we grieve,
And tenderly return this dust to dust;
Tis but the ruined temple where we leave;
The ransom'd spirit walks among the just.

—N. Y. Times.

GOD'S VOICE.

'Tis not through priests, 'tis not through schools,
God's voice has reached the ears of men;
But o'er through children and through fools,
His words have roused the world: what then?

Is God a fool through fools to speak?
No, no; who seek their own are fools;
Their stumblers purpose, He will break,
And thwart the ends of cunning rules.

If, by the prattle of a child,
God proves that He can speak and hear,
And sinners are from sin beguiled,
Shall priests, whose hearts have failed them, sneer?

The Liberator.

THE SAFEGUARDS OF PERSONAL LIBERTY.

Extract from a capital Address on "The Safeguards of Personal Liberty," delivered at Concert Hall, Philadelphia, by Hon. William D. Kelley, and published by the Social, Civil and Statistical Association of Colored People of Pennsylvania.

Pennsylvania, to bring her Government into harmony with these principles, in March 1780, less than four years after the Declaration of Independence, proclaimed the emancipation of her slaves, having previously secured by constitutional provision the right of suffrage to every freedman without regard to color.

Had all the States of the Union been organized on these principles, there never would have been a day when you could not have written a letter announcing the general doctrines of the Gospel into any State, without bringing its recipient into bodily danger, because those doctrines would have prevailed in the South as well as in the North. If the equality of man had been recognized all over the country, there would have been no war during the last four years, because no man, not even the pardoned rebel, denies that the war was made to perpetuate slavery and secure the degradation of the laboring masses.

No man will tell you that our newspapers were excluded from Southern mails for any other reason than that it was feared they would endanger the system of inequality that prevailed and was cherished in the South. It was this that made it dangerous for us to travel there; it was this that fired Pennsylvania Hall; it was this that mobbed William Lloyd Garrison, and disgraced Boston by disclosing the fact that Leverett Street jail was the only place in that city strong enough for his protection. It was this doctrine of human inequality, this violation of the principles that underlie our government, this want of harmony between our usage and our principles, and which we all profess to believe, on the other, that disgraced us before the world, and converted what should have been our peaceful life into a restless sea of agitation, in which Constitutional safeguards were abandoned or disregarded.

Let me show you how thoroughly we, in Philadelphia, are governed to-day by a concession we made to the South years ago, in the vain hope of securing peace and prosperity by promoting injustice and inequality; let me show you how completely we allow our prejudices, not natural, but thus engendered, to override the law of Pennsylvania; how some of us who are in this hall join in demanding that the State shall accept our prejudices as its supreme law. There is not, within the wide limits of Pennsylvania, a jurist of standing who will risk his professional character by denying that, according to the law of Pennsylvania, every man or woman who is well behaved, and can pay the fare, has a right to ride in our street cars. That is the law of the Commonwealth, as expounded by our courts; no professional man of reputation will dispute it.

We are a liberal people; as I have shown, our most cherished traditions indicate our love of human freedom and equality. We are a patriotic people; we have sent our sons and brothers, we have given ourselves, to the war. We are a benevolent people; we have fed the soldiers of every State as they passed through our city, going to or returning from the field, and our hospitals have been attended faithfully by women (God bless them!) and by men, doing all they could for the relief of the soldier. We are a grateful people, as is evinced by the fact that we have tendered homes to two generals, and have made provisions for the families of some who have died. And we are a religious people, being most of us what the world calls orthodox, believing that the unconverted soul is punished after death; but, notwithstanding these high qualities, the majority of the people of Philadelphia would rather, during the whole war, have seen the colored population so justly indignantly, that the colored eleven regiments they gave us at camp William Penn, (applause,) they would not have given us a man; would rather see the sick and wounded suffer; would rather be branded by the world as harshly ungrateful to the maimed soldiers of the republic; and would rather see the yawning pit of hell swarm with new-born demons, than that the sanctity of our street cars should be profaned by the presence of a colored clergyman hastening to baptize a dying infant, or a pious wife or mother hurrying to a hospital to sanctify the last moments of her dying husband or son! (Applause.)

This is the melancholy truth. There is no denying it; there is no concealing it. There is not a man among us—unless it be one like myself, who has been accustomed to riding in the cars of other cities, where all races ride together—who does not feel something of a prejudice on this subject. If you come to Washington, the capital of your country, you will get used to riding in the cars with God's children of every complexion. I make no arraignment of my native city. I love her. I cherish her for all her virtues. I boast of Philadelphia at all times; but I cannot help seeing her weaknesses. I cannot help seeing that she is immensely hypocritical when she talks about the importance of getting religious instruction to ignorant and dying people, and will allow every white strumpet and thief whose crime furnishes them with the means of paying a fare to ride in a car, and, as she has so recently done, turn out the colored clergyman and other pious people hastening on the holiest errands of philanthropy and Christianity. (Applause.)

Are we not, in all this, traitors to our own cause and principles? Are we not giving aid and comfort to our enemies—those who are not yet willing to accept the truths of the Declaration of Independence, or be citizens of truly democratic States? I pray you reform it altogether, and secure your own rights by protecting those of the humblest citizen of the Commonwealth. Make him secure, and your own rights can never be infringed.

This is not a mere abstract suggestion. It is the practical question of the day. The governments of the insurgent districts have to be reorganized. When States are reorganized, they must be organized upon the basis of 1860, and they can only be restored to their practical relations to the Union "to borrow an expression from our late lamented President" by the admission of their representatives into the Congress of the United States; and the only manner in which you can maintain your right to citizenship and to free travel over the million of square miles of territory, is to see that their governments are organized in harmony with the truth that all men are equal before the law, and those provisions of the Constitution which guarantee the right of citizenship to all citizens of each and every State, and the right of freedom of speech and of the press. Can we do this? Yes!

But you say that President Johnson has called upon the white people only of the insurrectionary districts to reorganize State governments. I grant it; and while I do not on that account doubt his patriotism, or assert that he has made a mistake, I know that I would not have done just so. (Applause.) If the people to whom he has committed the charge have the wisdom and sense to frame truly republican constitutions, they will not only vindicate his wisdom, but gratify his personal wishes, for his democracy is broad enough to embrace mankind. But you ask, what would you have done? I would have maintained military government long enough to have come to understand the people, and let them understand their new relations to the government, somewhat. I would, at the proper time, have had an enrollment of the people made. I would have had the aid administered to the whole people, and in doubtful cases would have taken testimony as to the loyalty of those who took the oath. When I had ascertained who were loyal, I would either, in accordance with Congressional provision to be made in the meanwhile, or in the method which has been adopted by President Johnson,

have called upon the loyal people to elect delegates to a convention to frame a constitution. This would have been in accordance with ancient precedent, so far as precedent exists, for the Fathers recognized every man who fought, and paid taxes, as a citizen.

You can nowhere find in the Constitution anything like a discrimination between white and black. When it was adopted, the colored freeman was a voter in every State in the Union except South Carolina. It is denied that he was such in Virginia and Delaware, where the exercise of suffrage was regulated by legislative provision; but their Bill of Rights covered the case, and I have proof, abundant and perfect, that negro suffrage was practiced in Delaware. It never was meant by our fathers of the Revolutionary and Constitutional era that freemen should be excluded from the exercise of suffrage by reason of color. I would, therefore, have gone back to Revolutionary times for my precedent; I would have taken the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States as my guide; and would have allowed all loyal men over twenty-one years of age to vote. (Applause.)

You may say that the President has submitted the question to the pardoned rebels. I grant you that he has, and I fear, as I have already said, that in this he has made a mistake; but, if so, it is not necessarily a fatal one. Those gentlemen should be so far enlightened as to fashion constitutions giving the suffrage to every man, white or colored, who can read, or read and write, I shall take no exception, because any man among them who has any ability can, in one year, learn to do so. The colored people sit with humility at the feet of any child, or any woman, who will teach them. If the whites who have been reared in ignorance, and taught that all labor is disgraceful and education unnecessary, will not learn, let them be excluded with black men who may choose to remain in ignorance.

If the colored citizens do not learn when the opportunity shall be offered, let them be excluded, but let the law be just, and its restrictions apply equally to all. Men who are ignorant can learn; men who are poor, if we secure their right to acquire land by purchase under the homestead law in the South, can and will acquire wealth. Whatever, therefore, be the rule, let it, I repeat, apply equally to all. (Applause.) I would, were the matter submitted to me, give the poor and ignorant the right to vote; the strong, the wise, the wealthy man can take care of himself. It is the poor and the ignorant who need the suffrage to protect themselves.

Again, throw the mass of the poor and ignorant people into the voting population, and the wise, the wealthy, the powerful, will see that they must establish a system of public education; for if they allow ignorance and vice to prevail around them, ignorance and vice may legislate away their rights and property. Thus it is said that the North takes its poor children from the gutters and the parlors of the city, and educates them; and those who enter our schools in poverty and weakness often leave with minds enlightened and enlarged, and finally go to the grave men of wealth, their names and honorable achievements recorded in history. I would say, give the suffrage to the poor and the ignorant, and we shall have no more the wealthy and powerful to look to the welfare of the poor and the ignorant.

And still again, I would, as a purely selfish measure, take the poor blacks into our political family. Let me illustrate my meaning. You are sick, bleeding, torn; thieves and robbers have been upon you, as they have been upon our country for four years. You have two persons to choose between. On the one hand, you have a friend—black, poor, ignorant, but who knows there is a God, and who fears his punishments—who instinctively clung to you all the time when the robbers were stripping and assaulting you—who, in spite of his poverty and ignorance, has been willing to lay down his life to save yours. On the other hand, you may seek the aid of a man stronger than you are, of greater intelligence and learning—acute, powerful, unscrupulous—fearing neither God, man, nor the devil. You must put your life in the hands of one or the other. Which will you choose? I would take the poor and ignorant friend, and would try, with his aid, to keep the powerful enemy off; and that is what you must do in the South. (Applause.)

You must either take the poor, ignorant masses, who, during the war, have been your friends, have fed you in hospitals, have released you from prisons, have piloted you by night through marshes and woods, and have been ready to lay down their lives for you, (enthusiastic cheers,) or you must take the brothers and friends of your rulers, who, by such, by the aid of Northern sympathizers, they will be. For such, as God is my judge, I will never consciously cast a vote in the American Congress that shall favor the admission of a representative from a reconstructed State under an oligarchic or aristocratic Constitution. (Great and long-continued applause.)

MR. BARNUM ON MUSEUMS.

BRIDGEPORT, Conn., July 29, 1865.
To the Editor of the Nation:
The "Nation" is just the journal our "nation" needed, and it delights thousands besides my humble self. But the article on "Museum" in the last number exhibits a little of the fashioning style of the London Saturday Review, or else I am blinded by my prejudices or interests.

I am not thin skinned, and I know my Museum was not so refined or classic or scientifically arranged as the foreign governmental institutions; for mine had to support my family, but let me enquire annually from the government thousands of pounds. "That class for which [my Museum] would seem to have been originally intended" would not support a proper museum pecuniarily. More's the pity—but such is the stern fact. Hence, to make it self-supporting, it was obliged to be popular, and I still hold on to the "million of curiosities," millions of persons were only induced to see them because, at the same time, they could see whales, giants, dwarfs, Albinoes, dog shows, &c. &c. But it is a great error to state that I ever permitted "vulgar sensation dramas." No vulgar word or gesture, and not a profane expression, was ever allowed on my stage. Even in Shakespeare's plays, I unflinchingly and invariably cut out vulgarity and profanity. It is equally incorrect that "respectable citizens did not take their wives and daughters" to see a play on that stage. Your writer doubtless supposed he was stating facts, but let him enquire, and he will find that nothing could be further from the truth. I am sensitive on these points, because I was always extremely squeamish in my determination to allow nothing objectionable on my stage.

I permitted no intoxicating liquors in the Museum. I would not even allow my visitors to "go out to drink," and return again, without paying the second time, and this reconciled them to the "ice water" which was always profuse and free on each floor of the Museum. I could not personally or by proxy examine into the character of every visitor, but I continually had half a score of detectives dressed in plain clothes, who incontinent turned into the street every person of either sex whose actions indicated loose habits. My interest even depended upon my keeping a good reputation for my Museum, and I did it to a greater degree than one could suppose. I had a score of detectives, free museum, or even a free picture gallery. Now, I beg of you to submit the above to the writer of the article in question, and ask him, as an act of justice, to set me right before the public. Humbly with me has had its day, and although I always gave the money's worth of that which was not demoralizing, I often grieved that the taste of the million was not elevated. But now, having made my "million" nearly twice told, I really aspire to do a good and great thing, and I ask hereby the aid of you and your writer in accomplishing it. Listen: If I build another museum—let it be free, free, free! I will be almost infinitely superior in its collections and its classifications and accommodations to the old one; 38, when I build a new American Museum, I shall also erect a large wing, or an additional adjacent building, the contents of which shall form and be a Free National Museum. There will place classified specimens of natural

history, paintings, statuary, armor (especially that worn by historical personages), old weapons of war, musical instruments, costumes and furniture of the middle ages, and a thousand other useful and novel features, which will be an honor to our country. Here, too, will be placed all free contributions of novelties from everybody, including missionaries, ship-owners, of foreign persons of distinction, and foreign museums. The Smithsonian Institution can loan its duplicates, the Patent Office, War and Navy Departments can lend their trophies, models, etc.; gentlemen can loan their statuary and other ways exhibit the whole of it (paying expenses by means of rent of stores and out of my own pocket), and whenever we fail to do so, every article not loaned by individuals to the Free Museum is vested in the General Government, and may be removed to a suitable building in Central Park or elsewhere.

My saying Museum prospects as I expect, myself or heirs will eventually erect and present to the public the land, and a proper building containing these curiosities, which in ten or twenty years will have accumulated to an amazing extent, if properly pushed and encouraged. I have tried to hire Bayard Taylor to secure Europe with me to make purchases and obtain contributions of duplicates from institutions abroad. He will go next summer; but this summer I want an educated, intelligent gentleman, like the writer of that article on Museums, and will pay him liberally to aid me; for, after all, the past, so far as the Free Museum is concerned, exactly coincides with mine. I know Europe pretty well, and for the Free Museum I shall be manfully backed up by the leading officials of our Government at home and abroad, and, with my experience and rim, I can in a single year accomplish more in this respect than "The Nation" (I mean the American people) than the sleepy Historical Society could do in half a century. At all events, at the least I can form a magnificent nucleus for a Governmental Free Museum. I owe the youth of this nation a debt of gratitude, and I am anxious to pay it, in part, at least. I hope the Free Museum will be inaugurated and burned out the humbug from the public mind to such a degree that it can discover that Barnum has got neither horns nor hoofs, and that he has as much love for refinement and the elevation of the race, especially in this country, as even your excellent article in this issue of "The Nation" (I mean the American people) than the sleepy Historical Society could do in half a century. 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